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SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER • 1918

• THE • AMERICAN •
SCANDINAVIAN
REWIEW



UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

SLESVIG NUMBER



SCANDINAVIAN TRUST COMPANY

56 Broadway, New York

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Condensed Statement of Condition at the Close of Business, June Twentieth, Nineteen Eighteen.

ASSETS		LIABILITIES	
Loans and Discounts	\$20,972,846.00	Capital	\$1,000,000.00
Bonds and Securities	4,457,053.71	Surplus	1,500,000.00
Cash on Hand and in Banks	3,897,700.44	Undivided Profits	206,767.84
Accrued Interest and Accounts Receivable	78,576.09	Reserve for Unearned Interest, Taxes, etc.	217,004.57
Customers' Liabilities Under Letters of Credit and Acceptances, etc.	403,410.32	Accrued Interest Payable	58,631.26
		Deposits	26,423,772.57
		Letters of Credit and Acceptances	403,410.32
	\$29,809,586.56		\$29,809,586.56

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE EIDER STONE	Cover
CONTRIBUTORS	249
GOTTORP CASTLE. Illustration	250
ESSENTIAL JUSTICE	251
FIFTY YEARS UNDER GERMAN RULE. By Ivar Kirkegaard ..	252
SLESVIG BEFORE 1864. By K. C. Bodholdt. Eight Illustrations ..	259
ARE THE SLESVIGERS DANES OR GERMANS? By Jens Jensen. Map and Four Illustrations	268
TWO MONUMENTS. Illustrations	272
MEMORY SONG. Poem. By H. P. Holst. Tr. Jane Campbell.....	273
DANES IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG. By Karen Larsen. Three Illustrations	274
THE SCANDINAVIAN "BOLSHEVIKI." By Karl Gustav Dernby	277
THE KIEL CANAL. Illustration	282
ALEXANDER E. JOHNSON. One Illustration	283
EDITORIALS: Self-Determination for Slesvig, The Value of Slesvig to Germany, South-Jutlanders During the War, A New Fourth, Amundsen's Departure, War Savings	284
CURRENT EVENTS: Denmark, Sweden, Norway	289
BOOKS: Essay Toward a History of Shakespeare in Norway, Sweden- America, The Historic Basis of "The Holy City"	292
BRIEF NOTES, FINANCIAL AND TRADE NOTES	



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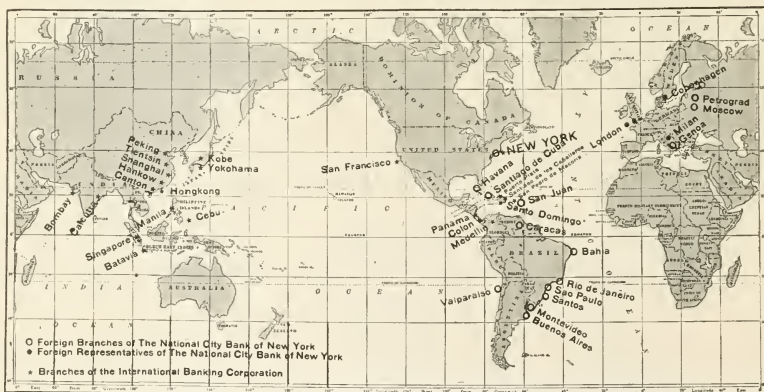


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ASSETS		
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Acceptances of Other Banks	35,397,183.63	
UNITED STATES TREASURY CERTIFICATES		
Maturing in less than 90 days	140,512,500.00	\$327,689,397.55
UNITED STATES BONDS	25,449,526.20	
Loans and Discounts	310,702,357.99	
Other Bonds	39,291,806.09	
Stock in Federal Reserve Bank	1,500,000.00	376,943,690.28
Due from Branches		14,058,790.31
Banking House		5,000,000.00
Customers' Liability Account of Acceptances		20,637,939.26
Other Assets		2,911,280.35
Total		\$747,241,097.75
LIABILITIES		
CAPITAL, Surplus and Undivided Profits		\$ 74,994,970.02
DEPOSITS		628,196,322.63
Reserve for Expenses, Taxes, and Unearned Interest		4,605,767.41
Circulation		1,756,300.00
Rediscounts and Foreign Bills of Exchange Sold		9,963,889.69
Acceptances, Cash Letters of Credit and Travelers' Checks		22,181,039.01
Other Liabilities		5,542,808.99
Total		\$747,241,097.75



Map of the Foreign Branches of THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK and its affiliate, the INTERNATIONAL BANKING CORPORATION

FINANCIAL

*Notes About Issues in the Financial World
Most Interesting to Readers of the Review*

FINE BANK RECORD

Few financial establishments in the United States can equal the record of the Scandinavian Trust Company of New York, which at the conclusion of the first year of its existence, in June, showed deposits of more than \$26,000,000. The loans and discounts in the semi-annual statement figured \$20,972,846. The growth of the business is evidenced by the fact that an assistant secretary has been appointed, C. C. Kelley joining the Scandinavian Trust Company in that capacity.

STOCKS LOOKING UP

According to *Bradstreet's*, the stock market during the half-year ended July 1 had a "substantial but irregular advance." The movement, to quote once more, "represented a recovery from the semi-panicky conditions into which the securities market fell during the latter months of 1917." *Bradstreet's* appears of the opinion, concurred in by other authorities, that Government control of railroads has had a good effect from the investment standpoint.

HANNEVIGS ENLARGING BUSINESS QUARTERS

With the removal of Hannevig & Company to larger quarters at 32 Broadway, the banking facilities of the Hannevig interests remain at 139 Broadway, in charge of Andreas Stolt as manager, while the shipping division is at the new address, under the management of Finn Hannevig.

WAR THRIFT URGED

The War Loan organization of the Treasury Department continues its appeal to the people of the United States to aid in the prosecution of the war by liberal investment in War Savings Stamps. Congress has authorized an issue of \$2,000,000,000 for 1918. The purpose is twofold: (1) to get money for the Government for war needs; (2) to instill the habit of thrift into the American people and by the practice of thrift to save labor and material for the Government. The REVIEW trusts its readers will see the wisdom of giving heed to what the Government has to say in this matter.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1918

The Fourth Liberty Loan is announced to begin September 28. We count on the readers of the REVIEW to respond as generously as they have in the past. Meanwhile War Savings Stamps are within the reach of everyone who conscientiously wishes to save.

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J. M.

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References: National City Bank of New York; New York Produce Exchange Bank, N. Y.; Kristiania Bank og Kreditkasse, Kristiania; Centralbanken for Norge, Kristiania; Bradstreet's Commercial Agency

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THE cover illustration is a photograph of the stone mentioned in Mr. Bodholdt's article which was placed by Christian V at the Eider River to mark the boundary between Slesvig and Holstein.

IVAR KIRKEGAARD will be remembered by readers of the REVIEW as the author of the article on "The Fall of Dannevirke and Dybbøl" in our Yule Number. A Dane by birth and for many years a resident of this country, he has visited the old battle grounds in Slesvig, interviewed the people who still remember the days of 1864, as well as their descendants who now live under the German rule. His book *My South Jutland Days* appeared serially in a Danish magazine, in 1909.

K. C. BODHOLDT is the president of the United Danish Church of America. He was born in Slesvig, in 1855. As a young man he followed the sea, but came to America, studied at the Danish schools in the West, and entered the ministry, in 1882. His present parish is in Racine.

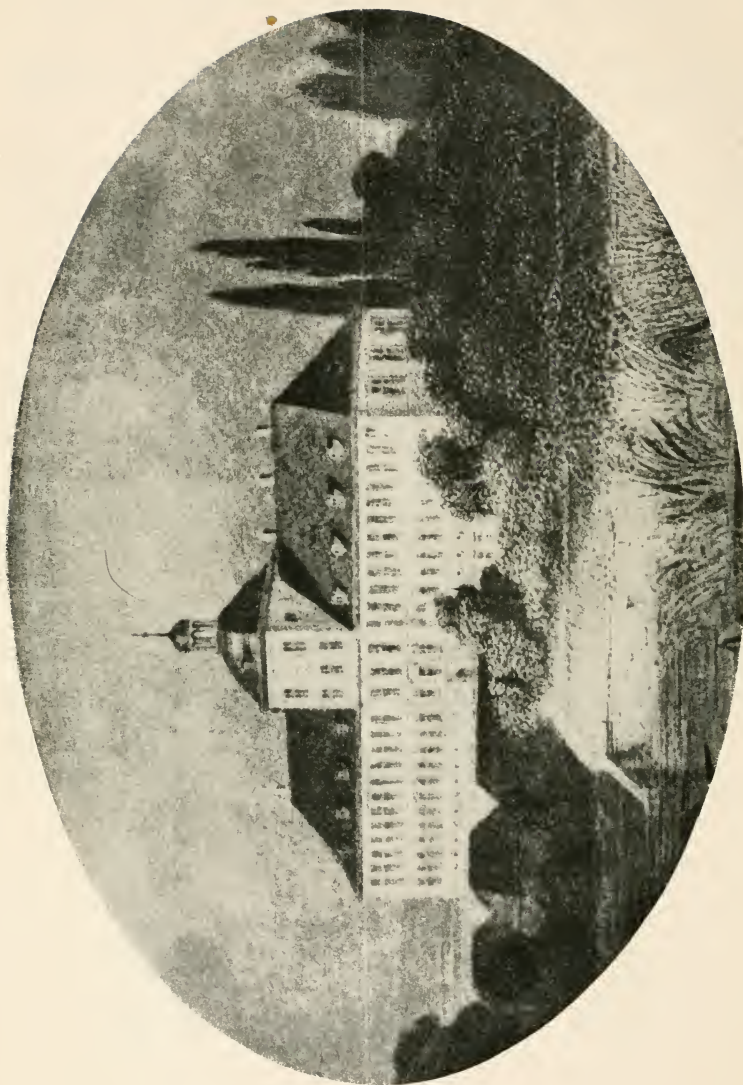
JENS JENSEN, the noted landscape architect of Chicago, was the subject of a sketch by Miss Eskil in the REVIEW not long ago. He is a South-Jutlander by birth and knows the people of Slesvig intimately.

HANS PETER HOLST is one of the older generation of Danish poets who have written on the Slesvig tragedy.

KAREN LARSEN is instructor at Mount Holyoke. During the past academic year she did research work at Columbia University on the part played by Danish representatives in the German Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag.

KARL GUSTAF DERNBY was Swedish Fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation for the academic year 1917-18. He recently published an article in *The Nation* on "The Tragedy of Finland."





GOTTORP CASTLE IN SLESVIG, BIRTHPLACE OF CHRISTIAN IX

THE AMERICAN-SCANDINAVIAN REVIEW

VOLUME VI

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER · 1918

NUMBER 5

Essential Justice

THE time is drawing near for the great international adjustment in which, as President Wilson said, "every territorial settlement must be for the benefit and in the interest of the populations concerned," in which "all well-defined national aspirations shall be met with the utmost satisfaction consistent with the future peace." "Final settlement," said the President further, "must be based on essential justice."

No people have better reason to look forward to that day with the highest hopes and the fullest confidence than the Danes in North Slesvig. They have suffered under the Prussian regime for more than fifty years—suffered with resignation, without whimpering. They have offered all the resistance possible under the law and without dragging the mother country into another disastrous war. The Slesvig Danes have stood like men, faithful to their language and traditions, and, amidst persecution and oppression, they have remained the most Danish of the Danes. They have been waiting patiently for the day when "essential justice" should again reign in the world and when such principles as those enunciated by President Wilson should regulate national aspirations. The words quoted from the President's address to Congress on February 11 were addressed to the whole world, and were so understood everywhere. They have awakened fresh hopes among oppressed races and not least in North Slesvig, where the people look with firm faith and warm admiration to the great statesman and the country whose spokesman he is.

That the mother country will welcome her lost children, when they are some day allowed to return, goes without saying, but Denmark recognizes that it is for the Danes of North Slesvig to declare where they wish to belong; nor has she any desire to rule over unwilling German elements in the southern part of the province. The principle of self-determination is the only one that can lead to a permanent and stable solution.

Fifty Years Under German Rule

By IVAR KIRKEGAARD

IN a village by the smiling Flensborg Fjord, a little girl came home from school one day, more than twenty years ago, with red cheeks, bearing evident marks of a drubbing just received. Her father, a prosperous farmer, questioned her, and found that she had been whipped for refusing to sing *Ich bin ein Preusse, will ein Preusse sein*. Little Marie made it *kein Preusse*, and no amount of cudgeling could move her. The teacher finally had to order the German children to sing so loud that they drowned Marie's *kein*. This little girl who could not be cowed by a brutal teacher is typical of South Jutland, held in the iron claws of Prussia, its Danish people harassed and persecuted simply because they have refused to break with their past and renounce their nationality.

The battle is waged along various lines: political, national, religious, and economic. The political struggle may be traced in the elections, and in order to understand the fluctuations of Danism and Germanism it is necessary to remember that the Treaty of Prague, by which Austria, in 1866, ceded her part of the booty to Prussia, contained the famous Article 5, inserted through the influence of Napoleon III, stipulating that the northern district of Slesvig should be returned to Denmark in case the people, by an unhampered plebiscite, expressed themselves in favor of it. This provision was confirmed by the Prussian King, William I, with a solemn oath in the name of the Triune God. It was never carried out. After defeating France, Prussia felt powerful enough to do as she liked, and simply canceled Article 5 by an agreement with Austria, in 1878.

Such treachery was unbelievable to the people of South Jutland. They had rested their faith on Article 5 as on a rock, believed in it as in the Bible. Taking for granted that they would soon be reunited with the mother country, many of them had made use of the option given them by the Treaty of Vienna, in 1864, to remain Danish citizens. They became what is known as "optants for Denmark," but thereby they lost all rights of citizenship within German boundaries, and were henceforth aliens in the land of their birth. Others emigrated, particularly young men of military age, who were naturally loath to put on the hated Prussian uniform. In this way South Jutland lost about 60,000 people.

The first election to the German Reichstag, in 1867, was looked upon by the South-Jutlanders as an expression of their firm purpose to return to Denmark. In all the districts above a line drawn to the south of Flensborg and Tönder, the Danish majorities were so large

that, in some places, they amounted to unanimity. In the years that followed, the vote declined very much, owing to emigration and the disfranchisement of the "optants," and in 1886 it was at its lowest ebb. After that it rose again steadily. When it became evident that the provisions of Article 5 would never be carried out, the resistance of the people to Prussianism began in earnest. Emigration ceased, and preparation was made for a long struggle. Unfortunately, much had been lost in the meantime; the people were weakened; the youth of the country was gone, and a new generation had to grow up to fill the ranks. But a well-organized campaign soon had its effects. A large Electoral Society was formed, besides many smaller local organizations, and in 1912 the number of Danish votes had increased by several thousand.

The German administration has, of course, used every possible means, even the most unscrupulous, to stop this Danish advance. Ever since the first election to the Reichstag, when the Danes captured two out of the four election districts, the Germans have practised a system of electioneering geometry (gerrymandering) by which they have neutralized as far as possible the Danish vote. Nor have they shunned coarser methods. They have marked with pin-pricks the ballots in the "secret" elections so as to control the vote of Government employees, such as postmen and railroad workers, who would, of course, be dismissed if they did not vote as ordered. One man who voted for the Danish candidate was denied permission to rebuild his chimney or to engage a shepherd boy for the summer. People receiving sickness, accident, or old-age pensions have been intimidated by veiled threats. Thus, in the election of 1898, all the men in Aastrup, in Haderslev, drawing old-age pensions were given a ballot marked for the German candidate with a note saying: "On account of your old-age pension, a ballot is enclosed which is to be used on election day."

One of the most flagrant instances of election fraud is that of the district judge, Winther von Adlersflügel, in Skaerbaek, who prepared for the election in 1903 by falsifying the tax lists and the lists of voters so that the Germans secured a better representation than they were entitled to, and the election had to be decided by drawing lots. And Herr von Adlersflügel could well manage the drawing of lots—that he had promised his partisans beforehand. He was surprised in his home in the midst of a rehearsal; his method consisted in making a little fold in a corner of the "right" ballot before dropping it into the box and feeling his way round until he found the one with the fold. No wonder that in more than twenty elections which were decided by lot and were presided over by Adlersflügel the Germans never failed to win.

The struggle in its national phase has been fought chiefly over

the language. Soon after 1864, German was made the chief language in the schools, and Danish was gradually forced out, until, in 1888, it disappeared from all except a few schools in the northern districts, where the children were still to be allowed two hours a week of religious instruction in Danish, provided the parents demanded it. These Danish lessons, however, were put at the most inconvenient time, and the children who attended them were refused dispensation from summer school—a severe blow to people of small means who would often let their children take service as shepherd boys or goose girls. While the state schools were being Germanized, the war was also carried into the domain of the private schools, and finally the Danish schools were closed altogether “because there was no demand for them”—though they were overflowing with pupils. Parents were also forbidden to engage Danish tutors for their children.

The remarkable fact is that the South-Jutlanders write Danish, if anything, better than the average graduate from the renowned public schools of Denmark. Parents and elder sisters and brothers teach the little ones in their homes and help them with their compositions. Later they are often sent to one of the Danish folk high schools that have sprung up right across the border especially for their benefit.

But what do the children learn in the state schools? They learn that they are Germans, that in 1864 they were “freed from the Danish yoke,” and that Germany is their fatherland. And Danish children coming to school from homes where nothing but Danish is spoken have been whipped for speaking Danish among themselves in recess. In the school at Tönder the teacher would begin the day with a German hymn, after which one of the children would say the *Vaterunser*, adding the words: “Slesvig is my home, Germany my fatherland.” But one morning a bright little curly-head, whose turn it was to say the prayer, ended with the words: “Slesvig is my home, Denmark is my fatherland.” The teacher went toward him with hand lifted for a blow, crying, “*Verfluchter Dänenjunge!*” but the boy stood his ground so well that involuntarily the teacher’s hand fell, and after that day the appendix to the Lord’s Prayer was dropped.

Such schooling does not produce a gentle and carefree childhood; it develops defiance and hardness, but it strengthens the will and sharpens the faculties. The children come to feel the fight between Danism and Germanism, not as something they have merely heard of, but as a struggle in which they themselves take part and which involves their deepest and most sacred feelings. They are proud of their post as guards of the frontier, and the sense of their own strength gives them joy and confidence.

The South-Jutlanders receive their intellectual stimulus from

Denmark. The Germans have therefore tried to prevent the current of Danish thought and literature from crossing the border. Lecturers from the kingdom have for years past been forbidden in South Jutland, no matter on what subject they wished to speak. Danish actors have shared the same fate, and it soon became evident that the prohibition would even be applied to their kinsmen, the Norwegians. Fru Dybwad of the National Theatre in Christiania was refused permission to fill a two weeks' engagement in the cities of South Jutland at the same time as a German traveling company was advertising Ibsen's and Björnson's plays in German. Roald Amundsen was not allowed to speak in Flensburg on his expedition to the South Pole, though the same lecture, given in Berlin, was highly praised.

All this has only strengthened the determination of the Slesvigers to remain, culturally, a part of the North. Young people have flocked across the border to the folk high schools, where they have been imbued with Danish democratic ideals and have learned to keep in touch with the progress of Danish scientific farming. Gifted men and women have been sent to Denmark to take courses in reading and music and have returned to spread their knowledge through popular entertainments. A network of lecture societies throughout the smaller communities has been organized. But all such intercourse with the mother country has been looked upon with disfavor. The societies have been declared "political," the meetings broken up, and the members persecuted in various ways. Private theatricals, singing societies, athletic clubs, agricultural and loan societies—all have come under the ban of the authorities, who well know that solidarity is the great armor of Danism. For a while athletic clubs were under special disfavor, and one pastor was known to warn his candidates for confirmation against card-playing, drunkenness, and *athletics*! All public meetings, whether political or not, have to be reported in advance to the authorities and receive their sanction. They are always attended by at least one gendarme, who has power instantly to dissolve the meeting; the slightest word that jars on the sensitive ears of the Prussian police is enough. It has often happened that they have forced their way into private gatherings in the homes of Danish-speaking citizens and fined the host for not reporting a "public meeting."

The Church, too, has been taken into the service of Prussianism. The pastors of the State Church are all Germans. Yet this could be borne if they were really spiritual guides of their flock. Unfortunately, most of them devote their time to uprooting the Danish language and Danish nationalism.

The South-Jutlanders are a religious people, and finally their patience with the German clergymen was at an end. In many

localities they withdrew from the State Church, which they nevertheless had to support by taxes and dues, and formed their own free congregations; they built churches and paid pastors exactly as their American brothers do. The first two Free Churches were completed in Bovlund and Haderslev in 1896 and 1897. When that at Bovlund was finished the Government issued an injunction against its being taken into use. In Haderslev the people were allowed to gather for the dedication, but when they had assembled, a gendarme suddenly appeared from behind the pulpit, announced that the meeting was forbidden, and ordered the people to leave the "hall." It took three and a half years of battle against the most absurd legal technicalities before the people were allowed to take into use the churches which they had built with their own money to satisfy their own spiritual needs.

The judges as well as the clergymen look on themselves as champions of Prussia against the South-Jutlanders, and there is no such thing as equality before the law. Danes are always discriminated against. Yet even the decisions of these unjust courts are not always respected by the police: An aged, highly respected farmer in Haderslev was illegally declared, in 1902, to be an "optant," and was deported by the police. He returned and thereby managed to bring his case before the Supreme Court, which declared him to be a citizen. Meanwhile his son had also been banished, and in his case the court ruled that his father was an "optant." On the strength of this, contrary to the ruling of the Supreme Court, the father was again banished, and had to leave the home where he had passed his whole life.

Incidentally, this episode throws light on the means employed by high Prussian officials to get rid of a political opponent. The decision by which this venerable gentleman had to go into exile was based on the testimony of two witnesses. One of these was a gendarme who afterwards admitted that he had sworn to something which he "remembered wrong," and that he had not even been in the neighborhood at the time the events occurred. The other was an old woman who later confessed that the *Landrat*—the highest official in the district—had promised her 2,000 marks if she would give testimony that would lead to the conviction of the old gentleman. When H. P. Hanssen, delegate to the Reichstag, called attention to these undeniable facts, he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for contempt of court.

Such administrative expenses as the bribe to the old woman are probably covered by the "black fund" which the Prussian Chief President of South Jutland has at his disposal, and for which he does not have to render any account. It might be a little unpleasant to enter in the official ledger: One perjury—2,000 marks.

Gradually the authorities realized that they could not browbeat, threaten, nor cajole the Danish South-Jutlanders into becoming

German. So they tried to drive them out or render them harmless by depriving them of their property and civil rights. The "optants" were completely at their mercy. These people, who in 1864 had declared their intention of remaining Danish citizens, were in the position of aliens, liable to expulsion from the German Empire for any offense. And it was easy to find an offense. Many deportations took place in the eighties, but the movement ceased when Denmark's good friend, Czar Alexander III, retaliated by expelling a corresponding number of Germans from Russia. In 1898, it was resumed again in a more brutal form. Many prominent men were declared "optants," though their option had never been executed, and some of them had served loyally in the Franco-Prussian War. Wealthy business men were favorite victims of Prussian tyranny. Aged men and women were driven across the border; the young were torn from their life-work; the sick were not spared, and for some of these exile meant death.

America has been the gainer by these deportations, for practically all the banished South-Jutlanders who did not remain in Denmark have come here. In California they are so numerous that the Society Dania, an American organization of Danish-born citizens with a membership of 2,500 men, has several lodges almost entirely composed of Slesvigians.

Appropriations for buying up land in Slesvig are a regular part of the Prussian budget. Abnormal prices are offered for Danish farms, and when the Government succeeds in acquiring a bit of property it is leased to Germans at a ridiculously low rate. But the South-Jutlanders cling tenaciously to their farms, many of which have been in one family for hundreds of years. They have protected their ancient heritage by forming an association to take over any threatened piece of land and hold it until a Danish owner can be found.

When the war broke out, the South-Jutlanders had a strong national organization. They were regaining possession of the soil and steadily advancing in political influence. Their religious and intellectual life was flourishing. Let me quote from a speech by the Danish delegate to the Reichstag, H. P. Hanssen, at the annual national meeting in Haderslev, in the summer of 1914, where ten thousand people were assembled. He said:

"Our fathers were contented in their thousand-year-old union with the mother country. They lived under happy conditions; our culture and our prosperity bear witness to that. They enjoyed great personal liberty; our stiff backs, our sturdy wills, and our high courage are the heritage of freemen. And we ourselves will testify that our fathers felt the breaking of the Danish bonds as the greatest calamity that could befall our people. . . . The year that is just passed has been one of struggle. Police rule has been made more stringent.

Young people's societies have been placed under a ban, athletic clubs harassed, lectures prohibited. The Prussian ideal of a gendarme at every meeting has been well-nigh realized. The State's attorney has been ordered to keep a close watch on the Danish press, and the prison doors yawn for Danish editors. The muzzle has been strapped more tightly over the mouths of the pastors. . . . Our great national organizations have sprung to life under the onslaughts of the Government upon our rights. Von Köller closed the public halls to us; we have answered by erecting fifty private clubhouses. Count Rantzau tried to build a wall of German farms right across North Slesvig; our reply is the North Slesvig Loan Society. Last year the attacks on our ancient freehold farms were strongly organized; we met them with our Yeomen's Society. Thus we have parried every blow, and we shall do so in the future. For more than a thousand years we have stood against the German flood, and we still stand firm. We have love for the cause and strength for the fight. We have energy and enthusiasm. We have faith in the future of our race!"

A few weeks later the World War broke out. Since then the struggle of South Jutland has been carried on quietly, in the midst of terrible sorrow and suffering, but it has never been abandoned.

They still "stand firm against the German flood," these frontier-fighters of ancient fame, these guardsmen of Denmark's Alsace-Lorraine—firm in their fight against oppression, firm in their Lincoln-faith that right makes might and that government of, by, and for the people shall not forever perish from the earth.

May their fight win victory, their faith reward!



Slesvig Before 1864

By K. C. BODHOLDT

LORD PALMERSTON, we are told, used to say about the Slesvig question that it was so complicated and obscure that only three European statesmen had grasped it thoroughly; one of these, Prince Albert, was, unfortunately, dead; another, a foreign politician, had lost his reason, and the third person was Palmerston himself, and he had forgotten it.

Yet there is no question in the world which is simpler than that of Slesvig. The history of Slesvig can be told in a few lines: From the beginning of history down to 1864, this region was a part of the kingdom of Denmark. Then a Prussian statesman, Prince Bismarck, said to himself, as he later admitted,* in his Low German, "*Dat möt wi hebben.*"

With the aid of Austria, Prussia then attacked Denmark, and, after half a year's struggle against the same powers that now have set the whole world in flames, the little kingdom was forced to relinquish this ancient land. But the "conquerors" came to blows about the spoils, and, after the war of 1866, Slesvig was incorporated into victorious Prussia.

This is the story in a nutshell.

Thus the matter stands.

If we wish to know more about it, the same story might be told a little more fully in this manner: Denmark is the oldest of the European states now in existence. From the tribes that, in the Stone Age, thousands of years before Christ, took possession of the virgin soil and cleared homes for themselves in its woods the people are descended who to-day own and inhabit the land. Here they were welded together into a nation; here they formed, in the course of time, a united kingdom. When this kingdom came into existence is not known accurately. It had stood for centuries when the expeditions of the Vikings, about the year 800, awakened the interest of the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish chroniclers in this realm. At that time, as a protection against the newly formed empire of Charlemagne, the Danes under King Godfred built Dannevirke, the southern rampart of the kingdom, *Opus Danorum*, the old wall which still stands, though in the power of the enemy. A few miles south of Dannevirke flows the Eider River. Here the representatives of the king and the emperor met and determined that it should form the boundary line between their realms. The region on both sides of the Eider was then clad with forests and almost unpeopled. Only here and there, in the little strip of land between the river and the

*Speech by Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe, May 26, 1895.

†Baron Stockmar. (See Sirachey, *Queen Victoria Her reign*) at P. 304.

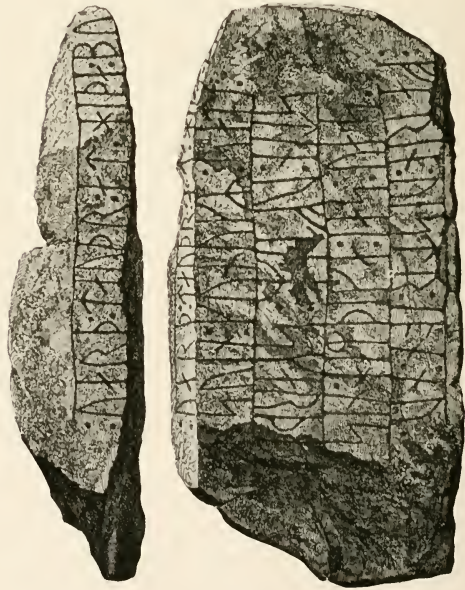


ONE OF THE GOLD DRINKING HORNS FOUND IN SLESVIG AND BEARING THE OLDEST KNOWN DANISH INSCRIPTIONS

nationality of the people in the country as far south as Dannevirke and the Eider—in other words, of the whole region which is now called Slesvig. The original names of places are Danish, the manner of building houses is Danish, and all the inscriptions that have been found are also Danish. In fact, the oldest known inscription in the Danish language was found in Slesvig. It is written on one of the famous gold drinking horns, dating from about 500 A.D., which were found in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries near the town of Mögeltönder. The runic stones from about the year 900, some of which were found in the neighborhood of Dannevirke, also speak the

rampart, were Danish dwellings. Where continuous Danish settlement ended, and the lay of the land was suitable for defence, the Danes built their wall. Down through the ages, it was improved and strengthened by the best rulers of Denmark, such as Tyra Dannebod and Valdemar the Great. A thousand years after the time of King Godfred, the Danes again took their stand by the same wall to protect themselves against enemies from the south.

These are all incontestable historical facts. The results of all research concerning these ancient times bear indisputable witness to the Danish



RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN SLESVIG, TESTIFYING TO EARLY DANISH OCCUPATION

Danish language. After Dannevirke was raised—just at what time is not known—a little Friesian tribe moved in and settled in the uninhabited marshy region in the southwestern corner of Slesvig. These people lived there, down through the centuries, as faithful subjects of the Danish king; but they kept their own language, which is closely related to the Dutch, and retained the customs of their ancestors without being molested until they came under German rule. For centuries Friesian was the only non-Danish tongue north of Dannevirke.

Possibilities for the Germanization of Slesvig began in the thirteenth

century, when Slesvig was given as a fief by the Danish Crown to a younger branch of the royal house. At this time the separate coat of arms of Slesvig originated. The Danish kings have as their device three blue lions; the dukes of South Jutland, two. So this coat of arms also shows to what country the region belongs. Another evidence from the same age might be mentioned in this connection. Immediately before granting the fief, King Valdemar the Victorious issued "King Valdemar's Jutland Code," founded on the old common law and applying to the whole peninsula of Jutland, both North Jutland and South Jutland, the original name for Slesvig. This code continued to be the legal law of the land in Slesvig down to the year 1900. Not until that year did the consolidated German Empire establish a civil code which took the place of that old Danish law.

Under a succession of weak kings, the members of the ducal family of South Jutland were trying to become more independent of Denmark. In these efforts they allied themselves with the neighboring German counts of Holstein, an estate under the Holy Roman Empire. Like the Prussians, the people of Holstein are of mixed German and Slavonic blood—a warlike and disciplined race. Their rulers were politic and unscrupulous. At last the counts of Holstein of the house of Schauenburg acquired by force the control of Slesvig, recognizing, however, the suzerainty of the Danish Crown. Thus the boundary of the kingdom remained the same. Under the Schauenburg rule, the Germanization of Slesvig began. The forests south of Dannevirke were cleared by German colonists, and the scattered Danish population in this narrow strip of land was absorbed by the German colonization. In the region between Dannevirke and Flens-



THE COAT OF ARMS OF SLESVIG,
RESEMBLING THAT OF THE DANISH
KINGS

borg Fjord, the nobles of Holstein acquired estates. But there the original inhabitants faithfully preserved their Danish language.

During the feudal controversies between the Danish kings and the German lords, the matter was on one occasion referred both to Danish and to German tribunals. That the Danish court gave a decision in favor of the king may be natural enough. But it is of considerable interest that the German Emperor Sigismund (1411-37) pronounced this verdict: "The whole of South Jutland, in which are located Slesvig, Gottorp, and other towns belonging to this same Jutland, and also the Danish Forest, the Island of Als, and Friesland, with all their prerogatives, and the adjacent lands have been, are, and shall be an estate of the Danish king and realm, with all the rights of usufruct and suzerainty; and that this same shall be and by right ought to be incorporated into the tenure of the aforesaid duchy and lands with their above-mentioned appanages; and furthermore that the counts have as holders of the fief acquired no claim to the duchy and its appanages." That the German counts did not submit to this verdict will astonish no one who knows German respect for law and justice.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the house of Oldenburg succeeded to the Danish throne (1448). About this time the Schauenburg line died out, and there was an opportunity of canceling the feudal relations of Slesvig. But the nobles of Holstein, who had acquired estates in Slesvig, wished the connection between Slesvig and Holstein to be continued. They offered to choose the Danish king as their count, or, as the title soon became, their duke, on condition that he would not seize Slesvig as a fief reverting to the Crown. Consenting to this, King Christian I, in 1460, became the duke both of Slesvig and of Holstein—granting the first as a fief to himself and receiving the latter as a fief of the empire. Each duchy was to retain its own ancient laws, and the two should constitute a joint inheritance in the family of King Christian. The king on this occasion declared that the two duchies should remain forever united—"up ewich tosammente ungedelt!" Although the districts have repeatedly been divided and parceled out, this old, long-forgotten clause was resurrected, about four hundred years later, and was destined to play a prominent part in the German agitation. A remarkable logic indeed! A declaration which has never been kept and which was made when a German duchy voluntarily placed itself under the sovereignty of the Danish king was to be used, four hundred years later, by the German state of Prussia, which did not at that time exist, to justify the conquest not only of the German duchy but also of the old Danish domain of Slesvig. Not before the outbreak of the great catastrophe of the present time

has the world at large appreciated the true character of "just German claims." Denmark has long understood.

To the landed aristocracy the joint rule of the Danish and the German duchies brought great advantages, but for the common people it was a disaster. When the Lutheran Reformation was introduced, German was, to the joy of the nobles, made the language of the Church in half of Danish Slesvig, the region south of the Flensburg Fjord. Touching letters of complaint have been preserved in which the parishes beg the king of Denmark for pastors whose language they can understand. It was of no avail. The German lords knew how to thwart their wishes. In spite of this, the people preserved their Danish speech.

The Oldenburg family was later divided into several branches. One of these, the house of Gottorp, shared with the royal line the rule of the two duchies. They were so divided that each family had a part of both duchies. Still the difference in the status of the two was maintained. Over the portal of the fort at Rensborg on the Eider River, which marks the boundary between the duchies, King Christian V (1670-99) placed the noted stone with the legend: "*Eidora Romani Terminus Imperii.*" The stone is now preserved in the arsenal in Copenhagen.

The relations between the royal house and that of Gottorp soon became very strained. The latter entered into treasonable connections with the enemies of Denmark, and thus forfeited its rights to fief in Slesvig. King Frederik IV (1699-1730) confiscated this land and reunited it with the royal part of Slesvig "as an appurtenance of the Crown of Denmark unrighteously torn away in grievous times." The application to the recovered regions of the law of succession to the Danish throne was formally established in 1721. A year earlier both England and France had, by the treaties of July 26 and August 18, guaranteed to Denmark the "permanent possession" of this land. Had the obligation of this guarantee been remembered at the proper time, it seems as though the world might have been spared many calamities; for it was only through the possession of Slesvig that Prussia became an important naval power.

Half a century later, the family of Gottorp, which through marriage had succeeded to the Russian throne, resigned its fiefs in Holstein to the king of Denmark. Thus the king once more gained possession of all Holstein, yet always recognized that this duchy was a part of the German Empire. When the German Confederation was formed, in 1815, Holstein, as well as the little duchy of Lauenburg, which stood in the same relation to Denmark, were admitted as members of the Confederation.

But the difference between the two duchies was not maintained in the administration. On the contrary, as has been mentioned, a



CHRISTIAN IX. HIMSELF A SOUTH-JUTLANDER BY BIRTH, TOOK PART IN THE WAR AGAINST GERMANY IN 1848, AND HAD BECOME KING OF DENMARK ONLY A FEW MONTHS BEFORE THE PRUSSIAN ATTACK OF 1864. HE MOURNED THE LOST PROVINCES TILL THE DAY OF HIS DEATH

common administration was in the interests of the landed proprietors. To please them, an administrative union between the two districts was maintained to the detriment of the Danish people of Slesvig. The aristocracy and bureaucracy of the duchies made use of this union to carry on active Germanization. When the Danish school law of 1814 introduced compulsory school attendance, German became the language of the schools, as it was already the language of the Church, south of Flensborg Fjord. The Danish language had successfully defied the attack of landlords, officials, and pastors, but it wavered before the onslaught in the schools; at last German won a partial victory, and in the nineteenth century it became to some extent the spoken language of the people. When the Danish Government, after the war of 1848-50, tried to remedy the matter somewhat by a new language regulation, a cry of "righteous wrath" arose from

all Germany. The strong national sentiment which developed in Germany in the early part of last century spread to Holstein and thence, to some extent, to the academic youth of Slesvig. There developed a powerful German movement of the upper classes, supported by officials, by the landed aristocracy, and university circles, which had as its aim the separation of Slesvig from its ancient connection with Denmark and its incorporation into Germany. No consideration was paid to the Danish nationality of the people. The leadership of this movement was taken by members of the family of Augustenborg, a branch of the royal family which had originated at the time of the Reformation. They dug out some obsolete rules about inheritance which had been buried for centuries, among them that oft-quoted "*up ewich tosamme ugedelt*," and on this basis demanded recognition as the heirs of Slesvig and Holstein when the male line of the royal house should become extinct, as seemed imminent. An armed rebellion, supported by Prussia and other German states, led to a war of three years, 1848-50. With pride the Danish army calls to mind the battles of Bov, of the city of Slesvig, of Dybbøl, Fredericia, and Isted. Once more Denmark's possession of Slesvig was upheld.

With the co-öperation of the European powers, the Danish succession was so arranged that, when the ruling male line became extinct, the entire kingdom, including the German duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, should fall to Prince Christian of Glyks-



THE ANCIENT RAMPART DANNEVIRKE, NOW IN GERMAN HANDS

borg, a castle near Flensburg. He was born at Gottorp, near the city of Slesvig, and was thus a Slesviger by birth. This arrangement was ratified by the treaty of London of May 8, 1852, and among the signers were France and England, as well as Prussia and Austria.

In 1863, Prince Christian ascended the Danish throne as Christian IX. Under the leadership of Bismarck, Prussia now found a pretext to dispute his claims, in spite of her signature to the London protocol—what matters a scrap of paper? With Austria she attacked Denmark, and on the first of February, 1864, the allied powers crossed the Eider. The Danish army stood at Dannevirke, but had to retire before the superior force. At Sankelmark the German pursuit was delayed so long that the Danish army reached the weak fortifications



THE BATTLE OF SANKELMARK



THE MILL ON DYBBÖL HILL WHERE THE DANES MADE
THEIR DESPERATE STAND AGAINST THE INVADERS IN 1864

at Dybbøl. Here they withstood a siege of ten weeks, and when the ramparts had been shattered by the superior German artillery, Dybbøl was stormed on April 18. Inch by inch, the Danish army retreated, fighting continually, and crossed to the island of Als. A naval encounter near Helgoland, though favorable to the Danes, had no material results. Because of Prussia's greed, a conference at London which discussed the possible partition of Slesvig led to nothing. Finally Christian IX had to cede not only the two German duchies, but also the old

Crown land of Slesvig to enemies who a few years earlier had recognized him as the rightful heir to them all.

This war was followed by a singular after-play. Austria was at least so honest that she wished the captured lands to be turned over to the house of Augustenburg, whose injured rights "had raised loud protests in Germany." But Bismarck declared cynically that "the chickens you have hatched yourself, their necks you can also wring." On September 12, 1865, he had the royal jurists make the ruling that the house of Augustenburg had no claim whatever to the duchies. The only rightful owner had been Christian IX, and Bismarck concluded that, as Christian IX had been the rightful owner, the ownership had now legally passed to those to whom he had ceded it.

Ay, so "complicated and obscure" is the question of Slesvig! The world has scarcely been willing to believe it. Only the past four years have opened the eyes of all to the bottomless depth of Prussian intrigue.

Some words of Thiers, however, deserve to be called to mind, which he uttered May 3, 1866, in the French Parliament, while speaking about the ruling of the Prussian crown jurists on the Slesvig question:

You see what has been decided: "The Duke of Augustenburg has no claims. King Christian has the only right to the duchies; he alone can cede

them. And now since, as a result of the war which we have waged, he has by treaty resigned his claims to us, we are in turn the only owners, having become so by the wish and the act of the legitimate owners." (Exclamations and prolonged stir.)

Emilie Olivier: It is abominable!

Thiers: Yes, indeed, gentlemen, in a matter so grave, I may not seem serious in making the report ("Yes, Yes!"), but it is the very truth that I relate to you. ("Yes, yes, it is only too true!") Yes, gentlemen, this burlesque spectacle, pardon the word, is the very truth. (General expressions of approval and assent.)

Emilie Olivier: It is as loathsome as it is burlesque.

Thiers: Yes, indeed! The duchies rightfully belong to the king of Denmark. Nevertheless you do not give them to him, but you claim that they have become your property. By what right? By the right of an unjust war which you have waged on the legitimate owner. (Renewed expressions of assent.)

Gentlemen, read well this story! Has anything like it ever happened? We were shocked at the partition of Poland; but where was ever the loathsome and the burlesque mingled and combined to such an extent as here? ("It's true, it's true!"—Bravos and applause.)

We know how Bismarck carried his war through, and how Austria succumbed in 1866. The booty remained in the hands of Germany, and the whole of Danish Slesvig was incorporated into Prussia. There followed half a century of oppression and proud resistance to tyranny, and then came the past four years of horror.

But the last chapter of history has not been written—nor the last word on Slesvig.



THE PRUSSIAN EAGLE TRIUMPHING OVER
DENMARK'S BROKEN GUARD

Are the Slesvigers Danes or Germans?

By JENS JENSEN

THERE is not a doubt as to which of the two adjoining peoples the Slesvigers belong to racially. The original inhabitants of South Jutland were Danes, and although there has been some German migration into the southern section, this has had no material influence on the race as a whole.

In their usages and mode of thought, the Slesvigers—even



VETERANS OF 1864

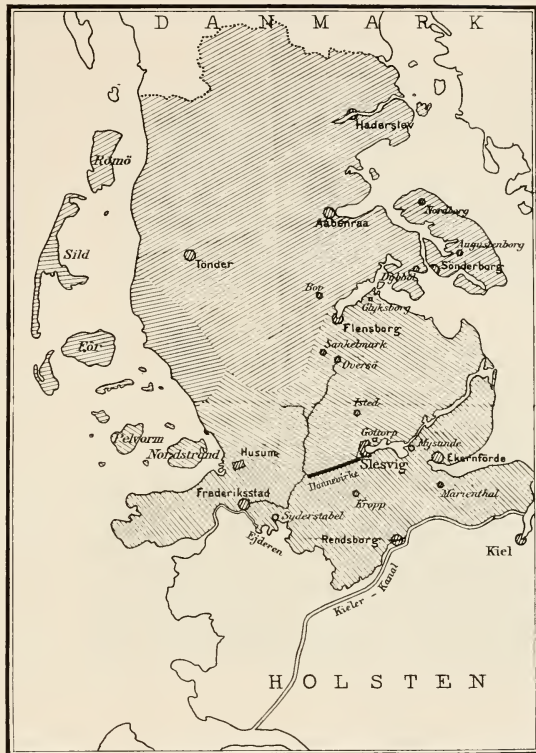
those who speak the German language—are true Danes. They are plain folk and democratic in the best sense of the word; they look with disfavor on class distinction and feel on a par with anyone. They respect a man for what he has done, not for his fortune or his birth, and snobbishness, which among the Germans has developed into an elaborate system, is foreign to them. The South-Jutlander thinks for himself, forms his own opinions, and clings to them. In a sense, he is superior both to Dane and German. The latter, uncritical and unreasoning, thinks what he is ordered to think, as he does what he is commanded to do. The Dane, going to the other extreme, is inclined to answer every warning with an indulgent shrug. But the Slesvigers have learned that nothing, however unreasonable or dis-

tressing, is impossible, and therefore they scorn no warnings, but obey orders. Yet they yield no unthinking submission. They follow most willingly their own chosen leaders. And these leaders, regardless of birth or station, are elected on account of fitness only; for a noble name, which gives power and prestige in Germany, is of no

avail in South Jutland, unless it is brought forward through the ability of its owner.

The character of the South-Jutlanders is emphatically Danish. As their appearance is Northern, so is their manner. Gentle and placid, yet tenacious and energetic, they are typical of all that is best in the Danes. Constant struggle has brought out their finest qualities, has pruned away their selfishness, and developed a strong group consciousness. They are simple and unpretentious in their speech, free from all German slush and bombast. But back of their plain speech stands a firm will; behind their quiet manner is a strong faith in themselves and one another and a spirit of mutual helpfulness which has done much to weld the people together.

Language, while it is not the only decisive factor, is generally an important element in nationality. In the greater part of Slesvig, the original Danish is still the only language. Into the little strip between the Eider River and Dannevirke, Germans migrated in early medieval times and cleared the primeval forests. Even north of this, Low German is the preponderant language on the east shore



- ▨ DANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE
- ▨ FRIESIAN-SPEAKING PEOPLE
- ▨ GERMAN MIGRATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
- ▨ GERMANS

1 : 750 000

LINGUISTIC CHART OF SLESVIG

as far up as to the Flensborg Fjord, while in the middle of the country Danish extends far down toward the Dannevirke line. In the west German came into conflict with the Friesian language, which had for centuries held its own on the coast of Holstein and Slesvig.

Where there are Slesvigians who speak German, it is noteworthy that the change in speech occurred early in the nineteenth century, before the value of language as an element in nationality was realized. Since 1864 the language frontier has not changed, but Danish has held its own in spite of violent onslaughts of German backed by a powerful and unscrupulous government. And the Danish that is spoken in Slesvig is purer and freer from foreign admixture than the

language of any other Danish section. The German, on the other hand, especially near the frontier, is largely not German at all, but simply Danish transposed. The structure of sentences and the order of words, the vocabulary and inflections are so pronouncedly Danish that when the *hjemmetyskere* (pro-Germans born in Slesvig) speak what they imagine to be German, the result is often ludicrous.



THE "FREE CHURCH" AT HADERSLEV, CLOSED FOR THREE YEARS BY PRUSSIAN ORDERS

In short, the greater part of Slesvig is Danish in language; a smaller section at the south speaks German, and in a little region between these two both languages are used.

But there are other factors of a national civilization which are of nearly as great importance as the language. Where do the South-Jutlanders get their knowledge, their books and songs, their arts and customs? Go into the humble cottage or the prosperous farmhouse. Everywhere you will find Danish books on the shelves: the history of Danish literature, Danish reference books, and the great Danish and Norwegian poets. Danish agricultural papers lie on the table, and on the walls hang good reproductions of Danish paintings, far different from the German chromos seen farther south. The babies are rocked to sleep to old Danish lullabies, the larger children play the Northern games with their old rigmaroles, and later, as young men and women, they sing the same songs that echo throughout Denmark. In the Free Churches, the Danish hymns are sung

as earnestly and devoutly as anywhere in Denmark, and the youth of South Jutland seeks an education in Danish schools.

If we examine the general status of the agricultural class, which constitutes by far the greater part of the population of South Jutland, we find that it bears all the Danish hall-marks. The rural population consists

principally of well-to-do independent farmers owning moderately large farms tilled by the family with the aid of hired hands. Only here and there is an estate with dependent tenants, and the crofters are also few. As in Denmark, the farmers are the mainstay of the people, while in Germany, especially in North Germany, the aristocracy owns the soil, and the peasant counts for naught. Only in a tiny isolated section of southern Slesvig have German conditions been established, and this region stands out in sharp contrast to the remaining Danish Slesvig.

If we finally examine the practical economic position of Slesvig, we cannot deny that Germany's artificial protection of agriculture has also, to some extent, benefited the South-Jutlanders. Yet the high tariff and many taxes and tolls have made living in the German Empire so expensive that the farmers would be as well off under Denmark. Besides the agriculture of Slesvig, especially the export of butter

and bacon, would have the same opportunities in the large markets of Europe as the Danish has, while under the Empire Slesvig is put in the peculiar position of a foreign country exporting to Germany. Thus Slesvig is closely bound to Denmark economically and



THE GJENNER FJORD, A TYPICAL EAST SLESVIG LANDSCAPE



A WEST SLESVIG FARM OF THE TYPE THAT HAS DESCENDED IN DANISH FAMILIES FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS

has no interest in common with Germany. The same is true of agricultural methods. The dairying is Danish; the powerful coöperative movement, which has taken as firm a hold in Slesvig as in the kingdom, is also Danish. So is the division between grain-producing and cattle-raising, and even the types of farms and of wagons and tools are Danish.

The whole vigorous life that has unfolded in rich and beautiful South Jutland is as Danish as the land itself, with its fields and hedges, with its wooded fjords at the east, the wide heaths of the midland, and the broad fertile meadows toward the west.

Two Monuments



ON THE SKAMLINGSBANKE, ACROSS THE DANISH BORDER, A TALL, SLENDER MONUMENT LIFTS A DEFIANT FINGER TOWARD THOSE WHO THINK THEY CAN ROOT OUT THE MEMORIES OF A NATION. IT WAS FIRST RAISED TO COMMEMORATE THE GREAT PATRIOTIC MEETINGS HELD ON THE SITE. IN 1864, THE PRUSSIAN BLEW IT UP AND SOLD THE PIECES FOR CRUSHED STONE, BUT THE FARMERS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD BOUGHT THEM BACK AND REBUILT THE MONUMENT. AT ITS FOOT, A HUGE DANNEBROG WAVES A MESSAGE ACROSS THE BORDER TO THOSE WHO ARE FORBIDDEN TO SHOW THE DANISH RED AND WHITE.

THE LION OF ISTED HAS GONE TO GRACE THE MILITARY ACADEMY AT BERLIN. THE PICTURE SHOWS IT WHEN IT WAS IN ITS PLACE IN FLENSBORG CHURCHYARD, WHERE THE DANES HAD RAISED IT IN HONOR OF THEIR COUNTRYMEN WHO FELL IN 1848. IT WAS CARRIED AWAY BY THE GERMANS IN 1864. HOW DIFFERENT THE SPIRIT OF THE FRENCH, WHO LEFT THE LION AT WATERLOO IN ITS PLACE, ONLY FILING OFF THE SHARP CLAWS IN THE PAW THAT WAS LIFTED AGAINST FRANCE!



Memory Song

Original Danish by HANS PETER HOLST

English verse by JANE CAMPBELL

Sweetly sleep in Slesvig's ground!
Though dear bought, naught does it matter;
Summer fair its sweetest flowers
O'er your grave will freely scatter.
As a bird will memory fly,
On to Slesvig its flight winging;
From the lonely hiding-place
Of the grave we hear its singing.

Lonely, for no friendly eye
Your last dying glance was meeting;
No friend heard your last-drawn sigh
Nor clasped hand in loving greeting!
But for Denmark was that sigh,
For the victory coming surely;
Rest then sweetly on earth's lap,
In the grave's shade rest securely!

Oft will memory fly afar
Where, dear ones, you now are lying,
Who with ardor fought and fell,
For old Denmark's honor dying.
But your death has brought reward;
Slesvig's land can be lost never.
Blood binds blood, and with your blood
It is bound to us forever!

Fairer death could not be found
Than yours for old Denmark falling;
So no tearful glances we
Cast when on your memory calling.
But where'er beat Danish hearts,
Where'er Danish blades are ringing,
They with pride to great and small
Thanks of motherland are bringing.



Danes in the German Reichstag

By KAREN LARSEN

LIKE a red thread, more or less distinct but unbroken, the opposition of a small group of Danes may be traced through the motley fabric of German parliamentary debates. Though always the smallest of the opposition factions—two men in the Prussian House and generally only one in the Imperial Reichstag—they have shown a dauntless courage and a clearness of purpose which no other group can equal. They have consistently maintained an attitude of apartness as representatives of a separate nationality unjustly forced under Prussian rule.

The Danish opposition was formulated by Hans Krüger, a sturdy Jutland farmer, who had been the mainstay of Danism in Slesvig since the forties and was one of the two Danes sent to the Reichstag in 1867. "He who votes for Krüger votes for Denmark," was the saying among his countrymen. For twelve long years he pleaded with hopeful tenacity for the plebiscite promised by the treaty of 1866. The sanctity of treaties and the rights of small nationalities were his constant refrain, and he good-naturedly admitted the truth of the accusation that the same speech would fit any occasion on which he demanded the floor. This solitary champion met with an almost unbelievable lack of sympathy; sometimes his German colleagues treated him with positive boorishness, for no plea that involved even the slightest dismemberment of the "Fatherland" could find a response from the strong young nation flushed with victory. But at home Krüger's strong stand helped to unite his countrymen and harden their purpose.



HANS KRÜGER

The spirit of Krüger has never died. Though all his successors have denied any agitation for forcible separation from Germany, they have freely expressed the longing of their people for deliverance from the rule of foreigners. Their efforts have been devoted mainly to the protection of the Danish language and civilization in South Jutland. They have claimed for their countrymen the civic right of equality before

the law and the moral right of recognition as a group possessing national consciousness. Since the great battle for Danism was opened, in 1882, with Hans Lassen's epoch-making speech on the language question, scarcely a year has passed without some notable protest by the spokesmen of the Danes. Nearly every debate on the budget has called forth complaints of some form of oppression practised in North Slesvig.

While the pleas of the Danish representatives in the Prussian House have been as earnest and as eloquent as those in the Reichstag, the latter have naturally been more in the public eye and have besides been emphasized by the sympathy of the larger opposition factions in the imperial parliament. Every successive Dane in the Reichstag, however different from the others in character and methods, has continued the war for Danism in the same spirit. J. P. Junggren, whose sincerity and moderation won the respect even of his opponents; Gustav Johanssen, the popular editor of *Flensborg Avis*, a man of ready wit, broad and jovial, a born orator, whose interpellation about the "optants," in 1899, started the most notable debate on the Danish question; Jens Jessen, who continued Johanssen's work on *Flensborg Avis*, a man of liberal culture and a polished pen, a fearless editor whose truth-telling has cost him forty-five months in Prussian prisons; and finally, since 1906, H. P. Hanssen (Nörremölle), the beloved "Hans Peter" of the South-Jutlanders, the moving spirit in many of the varied organizations that characterize the life



JENS JESSEN



H. P. HANSSEN (NÖRREMÖLLE)

of North Slesvig, who to-day is championing the cause of his people with unsurpassed courage and eloquence—all these men have, in some form or other, kept up an open fight against oppression in the very home of the oppressor.

As a rule, purely German legislation has not interested them unless it has had some bearing on the welfare of North Slesvig. Yet they have strayed from this position of apartness long enough to enter repeated protests against all forms of Prussianism. They have opposed the anti-Catholic laws, the anti-Socialist laws, and above all the repressive measures against the other dissident nationalities, the Poles and Alsatians. From the time of Krüger till the present War, when Hanssen has refused to vote for the budget, they have been consistent protestants against the growing spirit of militarism in the empire. They have tried to show that the dangers which made increased armaments necessary were caused by Germany's expansion beyond her natural ethnic boundaries through the conquest of Slesvig and Alsace-Lorraine, and have pointed out that the Germans rouse enmity by disregarding in others the national sentiments which they exalt in themselves.

They have never recognized the abolition of the paragraph giving them the right to self-determination. With prophetic vision, Lassen expressed the conviction that "toward the close of the nineteenth century people and countries will no longer be treated as common merchandise." Johansson reiterated in the most unequivocal terms their stand on the Treaty of Prague and on their political status as defined therein. Nor have they been silent during the present war. Last spring Hanssen spoke in the Reichstag in favor of self-determination for Åland, and only a few weeks earlier Skrumager closed a speech in the Prussian House with these words: "We have always been adherents of the doctrine of self-determination, and we hope that now when this right is being recognized by the German Empire [at Brest-Litovsk] we too shall have our most ardent wish fulfilled."

How much this untiring opposition has accomplished it is impossible to estimate. No one who has noticed how even the strongest liberal factions have broken their strength in vain against the intrenched government of Germany can wonder that this mere handful of Danes should not have accomplished any great tangible results. Yet their work has certainly not been in vain; it has served to rouse the national pride of their countrymen and to keep the cause of Slesvig before the world.

The Scandinavian "Bolsheviki"

By KARL GUSTAV DERNBY

THE Russian revolution resembles in many respects the French. The forces that caused the latter were first considered shockingly radical, but when they were confronted with the great task of governing the country, they were modified, and, in their turn, ousted by still more radical elements, and so the movement went more and more to the left, until it ended in general anarchy. The great French revolution had a tremendous influence on all social movements in Europe. The question is: Will the Russian revolution exert a similar influence in these days?

Revolutions are like contagious diseases: they spread rapidly. The countries first to be infected by the Russian and Finnish revolutionary germs are those of Scandinavia, and dispatches therefrom have lately been printed with headlines such as "The Norwegian Bolsheviki," "Revolution Feared in Sweden," or "Serious Riots in Copenhagen." It must be remembered, however, that the bourgeois papers are always a little prone to exaggerate social movements or, as we say in Sweden, to "paint the devil on the wall." It should also be borne in mind that, under normal conditions, there are not at all the same premises for revolution in the comparatively democratic and wealthy Scandinavian countries as there were in Russia.

Let us first inquire what are the new truths that Bolshevism offers. It has not yet produced any great prophet who has given its doctrine classic form, though we may find hints of it in all the proclamations and newspaper articles emanating from Lenine and Trotzky. In part, it seems there is nothing either new or original in the ideas of the Bolsheviki. The main points seem to be the same as the original "catastrophe theory" of Marx, according to which the chief issue in modern society is an implacable strife between the "consuming" classes, the "oppressors," who constitute a minority, and the "producers," the "oppressed," who constitute the great masses. Marx thought a peaceful settlement of this problem impossible, and took for granted that it must of necessity bring on a catastrophe, a revolution, which would transfer all power to the masses and their chosen organs. He afterwards modified this idea, and his pupils, Engel and Bebel, were the fathers of the so-called "reformistic" theory, which holds that the same goal can be reached by lawful, that is parliamentary, means.

Other points in the Bolshevik programme are: complete internationalism, the breaking down of all national barriers, to be followed by total disarmament; abolishment of private property and the equal distribution of land among all; the closing of all industries not essen-

tial to the welfare and happiness of man; the abolition of bureaucracy by lodging all power, judicial as well as executive, in the workmen's councils chosen by the masses. There seem to be certain similarities here to the programme launched by the Industrial Workers of the World in this country.

When socialists first made their appearance in Scandinavia, people regarded them as dangerous anarchists, and predicted that they would wreck the country. Times changed, however. Labor unions increased in power year by year, and in Scandinavia the labor unions, unlike the American Federation of Labor, are closely affiliated with the Socialist party, which is now a most important political factor in all three countries. In Sweden it will perhaps not be long before the Socialists will have a majority in the Riksdag, and nowadays it is regarded as quite respectable for even an educated man to be a member of the party.

The Scandinavian socialists adopted the "reformistic" tendency that had the upper hand in Germany, while the syndicalist movement originating in France did not at first find a fertile soil among them. In Sweden, the Socialist party has been built up almost entirely by the will of one strong man, the world-famous Hjalmar Branting, and his personality has set its stamp upon the organization. He has always denounced sabotage and all illegal methods, urging upon his followers the use of parliamentary measures only.

It is always more convenient to be in opposition than to carry responsibility. So long as they were a powerless minority, the socialists could launch "maximum" programmes, including internationalism, total disarmament, the taking over of capital and all means of production by the State, the establishment of a republic, and so on. When they came into power, however, they found it impossible to realize all these demands at once, and the Swedish Socialist party has now adopted a modified policy differing only on some economic questions from that of the Liberals.

But this disappointed many people, who regarded the "parliamentary" or "salon socialists" as traitors to their holy ideals. In the early part of the century, a rather anarchistic movement was started by Hinke Bergegren. It was marked by many acts of sabotage and is remembered for the famous "Amalthea" case in 1908, when a steamer harboring imported English strike-breakers was blown up in the harbor of Malmö. As early as 1903, however, Branting's strong hand excommunicated Bergegren and his Young Socialists or *ung-hinkar*, and now this movement is practically dead.

Yet there are still within the party plenty of opponents against Branting personally and against his policy. The most prominent of these is the distinguished jurist, mayor of Stockholm, Carl Lindhagen, an idealist and a noble political personality, whose only

fault is that his idealism sometimes drives him too far away in the blue. Other opposition leaders are: Z. Höglund, an editor who has served two prison terms for treason; Ture Nerman, the poet, and Fabian Månsson, an agitator who would match Billy Sunday.

The split in the party came on the issue of military preparedness. Face to face with the grim outlook in 1914, the majority Socialists voted for an increased army and navy. The extremists accused them of abandoning the cardinal principles of socialism and launched bitter attacks upon such men as Palmstjerna, now secretary of the navy, Rydén, now secretary of education, and many others. Finally, in 1916, Branting took the drastic step of excommunicating all his opponents, whereupon they formed the Left Socialist party and started their own paper, *Politiken*, famous in these days for its revelation of the Lichnowsky documents.

In the general elections of 1917, the new party was not successful. Out of the 230 seats in the second chamber, it secured only 12, while the majority Socialists had 86. The powerful labor unions, as a rule, vote with the majority, but some of the longshoremen and a number of the lumberjacks and miners in Norrland—many of whom are Finns—support the new party. They have also a stronghold in *Ungdomsklubbarna*, which are not regular labor unions, but discussion clubs with a membership of youths from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. The Left Socialists have a powerful apparatus for agitation, and it should be noted that among their leaders are educated men and trained politicians.

Which of these parties is right? Every observer must admit that in the present disturbed times the majority Socialists have acted in a sane and dignified manner; their determined stand against the Activists has saved Sweden from being dragged into the war. The policy of the Left Socialists, on the other hand, has been uncertain and perilous. They have swung between the extremes of Germanophobia and Anglophobia, and they are not free from the suspicion of having received subsidies from foreign governments, most recently from that of Russia. Yet, with all their mistakes, they have a certain mission to perform, as the salt that has not lost its power, in upholding the full programme of socialism.

When the old Internationale was shattered by the war, a new and more radical organization was formed, at Zimmerwald in Switzerland, at a congress where, if I mistake not, Lenine was present. The Left Socialists in Sweden have officially subscribed to the principles of the Zimmerwald Internationale, and, in the Russian revolution, they have sympathized with Trotzky and Lenine, whereas the majority Socialists sympathized with Kerensky. The "Lefts" may therefore not improperly be called "Swedish Bolsheviks."

These "Bolsheviks" have never, like the majority Socialists, taken

a stand against the recent rioting due to food shortage and unemployment, but have rather incited to violence; yet they are by no means united on this point. If there should be more disturbances, the Liberal-Socialist ministry under Edén would, no doubt, put them down with a firm hand, and in this it would have the support of an overwhelming majority of the people. Besides, there is still Branting—a strong wall against which all anarchistic movements break their force in vain. If his influence for any reason should be removed, it might result in the collapse of the Socialist party into a number of small factions, as in France, and then the left wing might gain much in power.

In Norway, the Socialist party polled one-third of all the votes cast in the general elections in 1915. Nevertheless it is not so strong in the Storting as in the Swedish and Danish parliaments. This is due in part to a peculiar system of voting, by which the country districts are favored at the expense of the cities, and here we may perhaps trace one cause of the bitter radicalism shown by many Norwegian socialists. The movement has been headed by such pioneers as Chr. Holterman Knudsen, C. Jeppesen, a Dane, now mayor of Christiania, and Ole O. Lian, until recently secretary of the party. All are men who approve only of parliamentary methods of warfare, and their programme has been formed on the German "reformistic" ideas, but it has been a shade more radical than that of the Swedes. Within the party there has always been an important left wing, sometimes known as the Young Socialists, and this element has grown so in strength that the moderate leaders have never dared to risk an absolute break as Branting did in Sweden.

Even before the war, the sudden expansion of manufacturing created a large wage-earning class, and the radical socialists were recruited chiefly from the poorer and less educated workingmen—the proletariat in the truest sense. This faction is syndicalist in its doctrine, and has for its slogan sabotage and anti-militarism. It found a fiery leader and agitator in Martin Tranmael, the editor of *Ny Tid* in Trondhjem. During the war, Norway, too, has seen hard times, and, naturally, the poor people have suffered most. Hunger is the cradle of revolution, and the extremists have gained a number of proselytes.

At the national convention of the party, last Easter, the radical faction, for the first time, had a majority. The conservative leaders, seeing their programme voted down at every point, retired from office, and Tranmael was elected secretary of the party. A resolution was passed in which the principle of class war and the right of revolution were openly proclaimed. The meeting furthermore decided to coöperate with the Left Socialist party in Sweden and to affiliate with the Zimmerwald Internationale. It endorsed the Workmen's

Councils formed by several large labor unions on the pattern of the Russian Workmen's Councils, with the ultimate aim of taking full control of all industries, agriculture, trade, transportation, and government.

It is yet too early to say what action these Norwegian Bolsheviks will take. Undoubtedly their movement should not be belittled, but, on the other hand, we may hope that the position of full control of a large and steadily growing political party will have a sobering effect on them. Recent accounts from Norway say that Tranmael has been sentenced to a short term in prison for treason, but the riots which the bourgeois papers feared in consequence do not seem to have taken place.

In Denmark, socialism made its entrance earlier than in the other countries, and its course has run more smoothly. The Danish socialists, recognizing the impossibility of their little country defending itself against Germany, have always had disarmament on their programme. Moreover, the Danish State has been perhaps more thoroughly socialized than any other; State care of the aged, the infirm, and the unemployed has been accepted in principle and carefully worked out in practice. Due perhaps to these two reasons, there has never been any radical faction of importance within the party. Sporadic syndicalistic movements have occurred sometimes, but have never been successful. The two chief party leaders, Frederik Borgbjerg, editor of *Socialdemokraten*, and Th. Stauning, until recently a member of the cabinet, have upheld a policy along German "reformistic" lines.

Quite recently, however, the failure of the raw materials formerly imported from America and other countries suddenly created a large unemployed proletariat, numbering perhaps 50,000 people. The socialist leaders supported the demand that the government should care for these sufferers, and the government took adequate measures to do so. But in the meantime, the masses had been stirred up by persons infected with Bolshevik ideas, and the movement got beyond the control of the conservative leaders. Official Social-Democracy then took its hand away from these agitators and denounced them in the strongest terms. A demonstration of 10,000 unemployed in Copenhagen last January was directed against Borgbjerg and Stauning as well as against the Rigsdag, but it dissolved in a mere farce. This was followed, a month later, by more serious riots in front of the stock exchange, which resulted in the arrest of Chr. Christensen, the editor of *Solidarit*et, and some of his companions. In other parts of the country, too, there have been sporadic riots, but well-informed Danes regard them as rather local and harmless.

What is the outlook now in the Scandinavian countries? Are they facing a social revolution like that in Russia and Finland?

The answer is reassuring. The workingmen in Scandinavia are too intelligent not to know that revolution never created a loaf of bread. They have too much political education not to take warning from the miserable conditions in Russia and Finland. We may trust them to keep their heads cool, provided the food scarcity and unemployment do not grow more acute than at present.

Much depends on the attitude of the bourgeois elements. In Sweden there was a tendency, in 1917, to form "protection guards" similar to the White Guards in Finland, but the project was nipped in the bud after a fiery speech by Branting in the Riksdag. If the bourgeoisie will meet the workingmen peacefully and in a conciliatory spirit, instead of irritating them, it will tend to stop any incipient uprising.

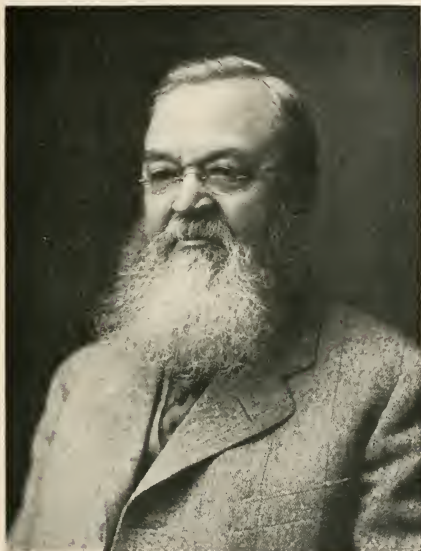
There is, of course, the possibility of crop failure and disastrous famine. With the nightmare of hunger torturing them, even wise and sane people may lose their heads, and in that case the very existence of Scandinavia might be threatened; for we know from the example of Finland that, in case of armed conflict, Germany would not for a moment hesitate to intervene to "restore order." At present, however, there seems no reason for pessimism. We may confidently hope that such a situation will never be created.



A CHARACTERISTIC VIEW OF THE KIEL CANAL SHOWS ONE OF THE FOUR RAILROAD BRIDGES THAT SPAN IT. THIS GERMAN WATERWAY IS SIXTY MILES LONG AND SO WIDE THAT TWO LARGE SHIPS CAN PASS EACH OTHER. EMPEROR WILLIAM I BEGAN THE CONSTRUCTION IN 1887, AND THE PRESENT EMPEROR OPENED THE CANAL IN 1895. FOR A THIRD OF ITS LENGTH, IN THE EASTERN PART, IT TOUCHES THE SLESVIG BORDER; IN ITS MIDDLE COURSE IT IS ENTIRELY WITHIN HOLSTEIN THOUGH STILL NEAR THE BORDER; THEN IT TURNS ABRUPTLY SOUTH TO ENTER THE MOUTH OF THE ELBE RIVER.

Alexander E. Johnson

THE life of Alexander Edward Johnson, who died on June 11 after a lingering illness, is a fine example of a commercial career turned to public service. Not only that he gave liberally of a well-earned surplus, but his business activity had something of the wide outlook of the statesman. As immigration agent for the State



ALEXANDER E. JOHNSON

of Minnesota, and later as land commissioner for the Hill railway interests, he was instrumental in leading the stream of Scandinavian immigrants to Minnesota, North Dakota, and the far West. The Red River Valley, "the bread-basket of America," was settled by sixty thousand people, largely through his endeavors. Not content with securing sturdy tillers for the virgin soil, he took care to lead the new-comer to fertile land, showed him how to get his title in order, and helped him to become an American citizen.

Mr. Johnson had himself known what it was to be an immigrant. Born in Värmland, in 1840, he came to this country at the age of fourteen. His father died

soon after, and the boy was thus confronted with the problem of supporting his mother and winning an education for himself.

Though his life-work was in the West, Mr. Johnson spent his old age in New York. Those who came in contact with him there remember the great kindness and good-will that radiated from his personality. Many honors came to him. He was first Swedish consul in America after 1905, first president of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce, trustee of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, Commander of the Vasa Order, Knight of the Dannebrog, and honorary member of various organizations.

Editorial

SELF-DETERMINATION
FOR SLESVIG

The President, in an address to both houses of Congress, on January 8, enunciated the fourteen cardinal points of the peace programme for which the United States is willing to fight until it is achieved. In summing up, he said: "An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety one with another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand." In conformity with this principle laid down by the President, the Editors of the REVIEW have prepared the Slesvig Number, presenting the case of a small group of Scandinavians living against their will under Prussian dominion.

The problem of Slesvig will undoubtedly come up at the peace conference. Indeed, it has already been discussed in the British Parliament, when the restoration of the lost province to Denmark was suggested as the best means of internationalizing the Kiel Canal. The Danish South-Jutlanders have stood out for half a century against Prussianism. They have fought their battles in the open and with fair weapons, and morally they have won. In the face of organized German effort, they have not only preserved their entity, but deepened and broadened their national character. They speak Danish with greater purity than ever before, and are more than ever imbued with Northern ideals. Though physically a part of the German Empire, subject to its unjust laws and abominable military system, they have preserved their souls apart. They have not been tainted by the moral blight that has fallen on the German people. By their intrepid spirit, their splendid organization, their intelligent fight for justice, they have showed their ability to guide their own destinies and earned the right to determine their own fate.

Regard must, of course, be paid to the interests of Denmark. The Danes have bravely accepted their defeat at the hands of a brute power, and have refrained from all political intrigues against Germany, although they have loyally helped the South-Jutlanders to preserve their heritage of Northern culture. The possession of a region coveted by Germany and inhabited by Germans would undoubtedly expose Denmark to attacks in the future. The restoration of Slesvig should therefore concern only the northern region, which is essentially Danish, and should be based on self-determination, thus carrying out, though tardily, the provisions of the Treaty of Prague. We trust that wisdom may guide the peace negotiations in the course that will insure liberty and safety for all concerned.

THE VALUE OF Slesvig, with its 8,734 square kilometers of territory and its 430,000 inhabitants, has an importance in European history that is out of proportion to its size. The beginning of German dominion is generally traced to the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine and the humbling of proud France; but if we go back a few years, we find that the acquisition of Slesvig and Holstein, through the defeat of little Denmark, in 1864, really laid the foundations of the modern German Empire. That was the beginning of the forceful assimilation of alien border peoples which committed Germany to her policy of blood and iron, and necessitated a huge army. A long strip of coastline was then added to her possessions, thus giving her added freedom for military operations in the Baltic, and therewith commenced the encircling of that inland sea, in which the occupation of Finland is the last link. The annexation of the two provinces forming the neck of the Danish peninsula made possible the construction of the Kiel Canal, which, together with the Kiel harbor, established the maritime power of the empire. The harbor with its fortification is the cradle of the German navy. The canal enables her to keep her battleships under cover, ready to slip out suddenly and secretly, and in this way she can tie up a large part of an enemy's fleet. Commercially the waterway has been of enormous importance, eliminating the tortuous route through the Öresund and giving Hamburg direct communication with the east. Before the war, Hamburg had become one of the greatest trading marts in the world, and an immense volume of American goods was transhipped there for Scandinavia, Finland, Russia, and Siberia. By the absorption of the Baltic provinces and Finland, Germany is now trying to block the future commerce between America and the countries of western Europe on one side and Russia and her former possessions on the other. She is threatening to mobilize the vast man power and inexhaustible resources of Russia to her own advantage. But all this presupposes control of the Baltic and its key, the Kiel Canal, and while the harbor and canal are both in Holstein, they are so close to the Slesvig border that the possession of that old Danish land is considered a military necessity from the German point of view.

IN THE Up to the end of July, 5,144 Danish South-Jutlanders WORLD WAR had fallen in the war out of a total of 148,000. Many times that number are wounded and disabled. They have been forced to fight for the cause they abhor, against people whom they can only regard as fellow-victims, pitted against them by merciless fate. Prisoners of war bear testimony to the kindness of the South-Jutlanders compared with German brutality. The

Germans themselves have abundantly testified to their bravery and have rewarded them with unwelcome iron crosses.

With all this, Germany's methods are unchanged. Never has oppression been harder in South Jutland than to-day; never has hatred and persecution of everything Danish been more violent. When the war broke out and the youth of South Jutland, obedient to the law, flocked to the German colors, and Danish men were even taken ahead of the Germans in their classes, then gendarmes, policemen, and soldiers with loaded guns were sent out through the country to seize and carry away to jail hundreds of prominent Danes. Not because they had done anything punishable, or even were accused of anything, but only to hinder any action they *might* commit prejudicial to the interests of the State—in other words, because the bad conscience of the Germans told them that a country which had been maltreated as South Jutland had been would, with full justice, employ every means to harm its tormentors. These men were kept prisoners for weeks, some of them under most miserable conditions, and when they were sent home from the distant points to which they had been taken they were themselves forced to pay the journey forth and back and their prison stay at hotel rates.

As an example of the brutal procedure of the Germans may be mentioned the arrest of the old editor, Mr. Mathiesen of Haderslev, by seven soldiers with fixed bayonets, who escorted him to jail through the crowded streets. He had for a long time been mortally ill with cancer; he was deaf and almost blind. In spite of this, he was taken to a little island far away off the Pomeranian shore. His wife tried repeatedly to obtain a little mercy for him, but the commandant answered her agonized prayers by saying: "*Es ist mir doch einerlei, ob so ein Kerl krepirt.*" The sick man was kept in jail for weeks and died a few months after being released.

The South Jutland press is even now kept under the severest censorship, not only in that it can not write freely, but in that it receives orders what to print. The persecution of the Danish language continues unabated. At the annual meeting of a stock company in Flensburg the police refused to permit the directors to speak Danish. Danish Slesvigiers in the Prussian army have likewise been forbidden the use of their own mother tongue.

All this goes on while the flower of South Jutland is giving its life in order to fulfill the duty demanded by the law and while the Germans themselves acknowledge that they are doing so.

It is the same old story. The Germans consider themselves the chosen people placed above all others, without respect or feeling for those who think otherwise. In South Jutland the hatred of Germany has never been more bitter than at present, nor the cleavage between German and Dane deeper. The storm is devastating the

country; thousands of its best men are maimed and killed. But their purpose has not changed; hope is not abandoned, and, as one of their songs says: "Hope points toward Denmark."

A NEW FOURTH In sanctioning the celebration of the Fourth of July by racial groups, all marching under the Stars and Stripes, President Wilson showed the way to that newer ideal of patriotism which must be ours if we are to attain full stature as a nation. Our national holiday was transformed from a day of boasting to a day of consecration. Instead of the old spread-eagle oratory, we had proclamations of freedom for all the people that dwell on the face of the earth. To the foreign-born it was a day for bringing all their pride of race and all their memories of the past as gifts to the country in which they have found happiness and freedom.

The inspiration of such a day was needed at this time. The abuse of our hospitality by German propagandists has naturally roused bitter resentment and suspicion. Many well-meaning people think that the only safeguard for such evils in the future lies in suppressing all individuality in the immigrant and imposing on him a standard Americanism as quickly as possible. Hence efforts that might better be directed to fostering good-will among our various groups of citizens are turned against a loyal press, against loyal churches and schools, because they employ another language than English.

This recrudescence of Know-nothingism would be more discouraging if we did not see, side by side with it, the growth of that larger Americanism which found expression on the Fourth of July. More and more people realize that love for this country need not imply the loss of that "backward vision" which is the heritage of the old nations. There is an increasing interest in the native culture of the immigrant groups that make up our population. It is seen that every human being is tied to the land of his birth by the subtle forces which the old Norsemen symbolized in the chain that bound the Fenris Wolf—forged of "the noise a cat makes in footfall, the beard of a woman, the roots of a rock, the sinews of a bear, the breath of a fish, and the spittle of a bird"—and the sudden snapping of this chain makes the children of immigrants intellectually barren.

Those of us who have always believed in retaining the spiritual bond between the immigrant and his mother country felt our faith justified by the splendid pageant on Fifth Avenue, where it seemed that the essence of all the beauty and color and poetry of the old nations was brought together to enrich America. May the spirit of that day stay with us! This country has already in a measure solved the problem of harmonizing different races. We know noth-

ing of the national strife that is rending Slesvig and Finland and Austria. Here and here alone people of every blood, from every clime, dwell together in peace and amity. Freedom of language, of creed, of family custom, of thought and speech has contributed to this result as much as, perhaps more than, the right to vote and the opportunity to earn a fair wage. There should be no tampering now with the policy of broad tolerance that has made us a happy and united nation.

AMUNDSEN'S The New York *Times*, in its issue of June 30, comments editorially on Amundsen's departure for the North Pole as follows:

"If Roald Amundsen were not a Norwegian, and therefore an explorer by race and blood, one might wonder how he could set out for the North Pole, which everybody expects him to attain, when the world is ablaze with war and there is a hazard that he may have no country when he returns to Christiania. It is really a pity that a born leader of men like Amundsen is not in the fight against Germany. At forty-six he is in the prime of life, with a courage that no peril can daunt, and a frame proof against hardship. The driving power of the man is tremendous, and he has a magnetic personal charm that attracts heroic spirits to him. Venturesome as the enterprise was, the crew of the *Gjøa* that he took through the Northwest Passage was always a happy ship's company; and the South Pole was gained by men who found the way made easy by Amundsen's cheerful and sturdy leadership. His talents and character would tell in the Great War, but Fate decreed that he should be an explorer first, and then a neutral. A neutral, however, only in the national sense. Germany became odious to the man who returned the Kaiser's decorations as 'a personal protest against the German murder of peaceful Norwegian sailors in the North Sea.'

"Two, three, four years Roald Amundsen may be gone, and perhaps he will never come back from the polar silences, for this is his greatest venture. But he admits no such word as failure, and never was Arctic explorer better equipped with aids to success and native resources, or more staunchly backed by seasoned comrades. The War will probably be over when he sails into the home harbor, and civilization will have been saved. Imagine the thrill of the stoutest of Norwegian explorers when he sights his first ship in temperate seas, and the answer is made to his question, shouted across the surges, 'How's the War?'"

WAR SAVINGS The REVIEW blew a strong blast for War Savings in our last issue. Three full-page announcements were contributed by loyal readers of the magazine. Let the good work continue. People of Scandinavian blood are taking the lead in the organization of War Savings Societies throughout the country. At the Swedish celebration of the Fourth in Chicago, the Swedish Division Illinois War Savings Committee combined with the John Ericsson League. Among the speakers were Governor Charles S. Deneen and Dr. Amandus Johnson. "From this time forward," says the Treasury Department, "emphasis should be laid upon the organization and continuation of War Savings Societies. There should be one or more of such War Savings Societies within every existing organization (civic or church)."

Current Events

Denmark

¶ The Rigsdag was opened by the King in person, on May 28. It was a notable occasion in many ways. The legislators met for the first time in the rebuilt Christiansborg Castle, a splendid structure which it has taken nearly fifteen years to complete, and which includes under one roof the royal palace, the houses of the Rigsdag, and the rooms of the Supreme Court. It was particularly appropriate that the new halls should be opened with the Rigsdag which is the first to be elected under the new liberal constitution of June 5, 1915. It was the first time women voted in national elections, and four women took their places among the members of the Rigsdag. The first speech by a woman member was made by Fru Elna Munch, wife of the minister of defenses, who is himself also a member of the Folketing. ¶ The parties are very evenly divided. In the Folketing the government party, a coalition of Radicals and Socialists, has a majority of only two over the combined strength of the other parties. In the Landsting the government has a minority of four of the new members elected, but the eighteen members of the former Rigsdag who still hold their seats help to swell the Conservative ranks, so the government has, in fact, a total strength in the Landsting of only twenty-eight against forty-four. Under these conditions, it can of course not count on forcing through any radical measures. An outstanding feature of the elections is the growth of the Socialist element in Copenhagen. Remarkably little interest was taken in the elections, probably due to the fact that there were no exciting issues. All parties agree in preserving the neutrality of the country and in trying to solve the problems of food shortage, unemployment, and other evils due to the war in the best possible manner. ¶ In the matter of food Denmark is, perhaps, as well off as any country in Europe, but a strict rationing is maintained in order to husband the resources of the country and save enough for "compensation" goods to other countries. Denmark has put at the disposal of Sweden 15,000 tons of grain, and has also exported large quantities of butter in return for Swedish wares. The short rations of bread and butter led to serious riots in Copenhagen in June, but the government persisted in its plan for food conservation. The importation of Norway saltpeter to Denmark amounted to 20,000 tons in the month of May. ¶ A delegation of four men headed by the minister of finance, Chr. Hage, left for Iceland in June to attend a conference at Reykjavik for the settlement of the differences between Denmark and Iceland. The Icelanders wish to use their own flag and be regarded as a sovereign state while remaining in a personal union with the kingdom of Denmark.

Sweden

¶ King Gustaf's sixtieth birthday, on June 16, brought him warm congratulations from Denmark and Norway, as well as from all parts of Sweden. He is recognized in the neighboring countries as the creator of the idea of Scandinavian coöperation which is steadily growing in importance. The large-minded manner in which the King laid aside all personal grievances to visit King Haakon recently has established his place in the affection and esteem of the Norwegians. ¶ The Riksdag of 1918 failed to pass two leading measures in the programme of the Liberal-Socialist government. Woman suffrage was again voted down by the first chamber after passing the second. The bill for liberalizing the communal suffrage and thereby the elections to the first chamber was likewise blocked by the Conservatives in that reactionary body, after a debate characterized by bitterness and a threatening tone on both sides. ¶ The session was marked by a great volume of legislation dealing with war conditions. In Sweden, as in the belligerent countries, the State is more and more taking over the management of production and distribution formerly left to private enterprise. It has been necessary to stimulate agriculture and to encourage the home manufacture of articles formerly purchased abroad. Furthermore, the state is interesting itself in the utilization of water power, and work will soon begin on one of the great falls of Lapland, partly in order to increase the supply of electricity available and partly as a measure against unemployment. As a consequence of all these government activities, the budget has increased to 1,582,700,000 kronor for 1918 as against 261,100,000 for 1913. ¶ By the agreement with the Allied governments, signed in London on May 29, the Swedish government has undertaken to facilitate the export to the Allied countries of wood pulp, steel, and iron ore, and has approved the chartering of 400,000 tons of Swedish ships to the Allies. In return Sweden will be allowed to import grain from Argentina and Australia, fodder, oil, leather, hides, and wool from South America, and raw materials for manufacturing, chiefly cotton and metals, in sufficient quantities. Some anxiety is felt in Sweden over the large amount of tonnage which is thus diverted from the Swedish trade. It is claimed that Sweden will have only 600,000 tons for her own disposal, of which only 150,000 can be used for transoceanic trade, an amount that seems inadequate for Sweden's own use. ¶ The good ship *New Sweden*, one of the two largest freight steamers owned in Sweden, has been torpedoed on the way from Naples to a North-American port. The vessel was the property of the Swedish East Asiatic Company. ¶ The Spitzbergen coal mines are expected to yield 10,000 tons this summer. Most of this will be used for the State railways.

Norway

¶ General satisfaction is felt with the treaty negotiated by the Nansen Commission with our government. It is true, some of the papers point out that Norway has really bound herself to export to our allies certain quantities of her products without absolute assurance that she will receive anything in return, since the United States Food Administrator promises only to release what can be spared. Nevertheless it is realized that our government is sincerely anxious to relieve Norway's want so far as possible, and the prevailing tone is one of optimism. The return of Dr. Nansen and his expressions of good-will toward the American people and administration have helped to increase the cordial feeling which is noticeable in the press comments. ¶ The Norwegian losses from submarines in the month of May were fourteen vessels with a total tonnage of 11,791. This unusually heavy toll was due to the war of destruction on the sealing and whaling vessels along the northern coast under pretense that they were supplying England with oil, though, as a matter of fact, the Norwegian government has laid an embargo on all oil and is even paying a high premium for it. The German operations were carried on in the customary brutal fashion. A few crews of torpedoed vessels managed to save themselves by rowing to the Russian port Vaida-Guba. While they were there, the Germans bombarded the village in order to destroy its wireless plant. Fourteen of the inhabitants were killed and fourteen wounded, some of the bodies being horribly mutilated. The Norwegian losses since the war began have now reached 769 ships and 1,008 seamen, besides 53 ships and 704 men missing. ¶ The Norwegian government has acquired the French interests in the Grong mines near Trondhjem with the stipulation that none of the pyrites mined there shall be sold to Germany for the duration of the war. The government is also taking steps to buy several large waterfalls in the same region. A commission is being formed to deal with the centralization and distribution of water power. ¶ A national collection is being taken up in order to enlarge the area of cultivated land. In Bergen 1,300 volunteers have planted 3,500 sacks of potatoes and hope to raise a crop of 30,000 barrels if the harvest is good. In Christiania the University students, men and women, are also busy in the potato patches. A consignment of 115,000 sacks of Australian wheat arrived in Bergen on June 9. ¶ The Christiania commune has laid in such large quantities of wood and coal that the fuel administration hopes to avoid rationing in the coming winter. ¶ A general system of old-age and invalid pensions is under consideration in the Storting. The plan includes all persons living in Norway or on Norwegian ships and all those employed by the government in foreign countries.

Books

ESSAY TOWARD A HISTORY OF SHAKESPEARE IN NORWAY. By Martin B. Ruud. (Scandinavian Studies and Notes, IV, 2.) Urbana, Illinois: The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, 1917.

It is generally very instructive to trace the fortunes of a great poet in foreign countries. Such study is capable of shedding light in both directions. The reputation of Shakespeare abroad affords material especially suitable for such inquiry; the reactions when he is in question are likely to be particular and intense. To Jusserand's *Shakespeare in France* and Collison-Morley's *Shakespeare in Italy* it is now possible, by reason of the generous support of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, to add Martin B. Ruud's *Essay Toward a History of Shakespeare in Norway*. Dr. Ruud takes up his matter chronologically. He is tracing, be it noted, not the influence of Shakespeare on Norwegian literature, but the widening interest in the English poet as expressed in translations, criticisms, and performances of his plays. For the seventeenth century there is nothing to record; for the eighteenth very little; even in the nineteenth century Norway got its Shakespeare from Denmark. By 1818 a translation of *Coriolanus* had appeared (somehow appropriate, one thinks, that this should be the first play to be translated at the hands of a countryman of Ibsen's) and Niels Hauge translated *Macbeth* in 1855. Meanwhile, Ivar Aasen had experimented with Shakespeare in the *Landsmaal*, an effort very recently widely extended by Madhus, Egge, and Wildenvey. All of this material the author analyzes in detail; he seems to have some doubts about the suitability of the *Landsmaal* as a vehicle for Shakespeare. A version in the *Riksmaal* remains to be made.

Chapter II deals with Shakespeare criticism in Norway. Björnson and Collin supply the most important matter. The record of performances, the subject of Chapter III, begins with a representation of *Macbeth* in 1844, and Johannes Brun's impersonation of Falstaff (1867) is probably its artistic climax. The performances are tabulated in an appendix.

If the material discussed by this monograph appears to be limited and relatively unimportant, it is in a measure due to the close dependence of literary Norway upon Denmark, and Shakespeare in Denmark the author expressly reserves for a later treatise. Meanwhile, he has our gratitude for taking us over the ground and showing us what there is; all a very necessary prelude to the more delicate task of assessing Shakespeare's influence upon the literature of Scandinavia.

HARRY MORGAN AYRES.

SWEDEN-AMERICA. Edited by Oscar G. Marell. The Swedish Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. Produce Exchange Annex, New York. 1918. 144 pp. Price \$1.00.

This annual of the Swedish Chamber is an ambitious book, as chock-full of information as an almanac. It is a practical publication for American business looking Sweden-ward, but its illustrations, crisp typography, and general articles appeal also to the layman. For a frontispiece we find the most attractive photograph that we have seen of Independence Hall, where a Swedish-American, John Morton, cast the deciding vote for the declaration of liberties on the Western continent—"turned the key" that made Pennsylvania the "Keystone State." Several vexed historical questions are answered in the annual. For example, how about Admiral Dahlgren of Civil War fame: was he born in Sweden? Major Machold tells the story of his life and that of his son, Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, likewise of Philadelphia. The subject of George Washington's Swedish ancestry

is also discussed. Trade subjects, of course, and statistics form the core of this book. To our mind, the most vital contribution is a compact digest on "Wood Pulp in 1917," by Hans Lagerlöf, with suggestions for the future. America could use the entire wood pulp and iron output of Sweden, and it behooves us to be alert and study this business, and capture it. Many firms having Swedish houses have shown their vision by rallying to the annual with advertising. May the editor be forgiven for allowing the photographs of the directors of the Chamber to adorn three pages; they are handsome and distinguished men all of them, and the editor's pride is justified, but the exhibit is too reminiscent of senior class day albums. Turning the pages casually, the reader is impressed by the pictures of Swedish waterfalls interspersed throughout the book; he seems to hear the distant rhythm of the harmony and potentiality with which nature has endowed Sweden and becomes prayerful for renewed communications between our two lands after the war that shall be productive of art and literature as well as social and economic progress.

THE HISTORIC BASIS OF "THE HOLY CITY"

To the Editor of the REVIEW:

I have just read Lola Ridge's fascinating review of *The Holy City* a second time, and I am struck with her opinion that Miss Lagerlöf showed a misconception of American psychology. This leads me to recall the facts on which the book is founded. They are now an old story and may be forgotten by many readers of the REVIEW.

It is unfortunately true that the American Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries at Jerusalem circulated the most awful and deliberate slanders. The head of the Methodist Mission was also our American consul at the time, and he was one of those narrow intolerants who hate what they do not understand. The relentless persecution suffered by the members of the American colony (the Gordon colony of Miss Lagerlöf's story) at the hands of their compatriots is a matter of record. *Appleton's Magazine* published a graphic account, as did other periodicals. Miss Lagerlöf was commissioned by a Swedish society to look into the scandal in so far as it involved the Swedes. She went into matters pretty thoroughly, and, as a consequence of her report, the American consul was recalled by our Administration to answer to the charges, though he died, if I remember rightly, on the voyage. Miss Lagerlöf devoted months to the task, and her book *The Holy City* grew out of her investigations. However little we can reconcile it with our general conception of American nature—whatever the malign influences may have been that corroded the character of these missionaries in Jerusalem—we know that every incident recorded of Americans is founded on fact.

VELMA SWANSTON HOWARD.

Brief Notes

The Swedish Study Club in Chicago closed the first year of its activity, on May 31, with no less than fifty lectures to its credit. Five of these were given in the auditorium of the Chicago Academy of Sciences and were free to the public. As most of the work has been done by volunteers, the result has been accomplished with a minimum of expense. The president of the club is Mr. Axel G. S. Josephson.

Several attempts have been made lately to adapt

Northern patriotic songs to American needs. Mr. J. A. Lengby, of St. Paul, has made an American version of Nybom's *Fänsång*. Mr. Siver Serungard of Devil's Lake, North Dakota, contributes paraphrases of *Hör oss Svea, Jeg vil væge mit land*, and *Björneborgernes marsch*. All are sung to the original melodies.

An Anglo-Norse Club has been founded in London with a view to promoting friendly relations and especially for furthering the Norwegian studies

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carried on by the London County Council and the University of London. Mr. William Archer and Mr. K. F. Knudsen are presidents of the club, which meets every other Wednesday evening. Mr. Illit Gröndahl, whose translations of Wergeland have appeared in the REVIEW, is active as teacher and lecturer. We hope the good work will be extended to include also studies of Danish and Swedish.

The commissioners of Fairmount Park in Philadelphia and the art jury have accepted the plaster model designed by Einar Jónsson, the Icelandic sculptor, of Thorfinn Karlsefni. The statue is now being cast in bronze. Mr. Jónsson has spent the past year in Philadelphia completing his model as the guest of Mr. J. Bunford Samuel, who personally presented the statue to the city of Philadelphia as the first in a series of historical statues to be erected along the river in Fairmount Park, the others being provided for by the will of the late Mrs. Samuel. Mr. Jónsson came to America at the suggestion of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. A number of the Scandinavian citizens of Philadelphia saw the statue at a private view held on the afternoon of Sunday, July 14.

A recent meeting of the Danmarks Amerikanske Selskab in Copenhagen was addressed by the President, Director H. P. Prior, on his impressions of America and the War derived from his recent visit to this country as a special commissioner. A considerable audience was gathered to hear Mr. Prior, including the Rector of the University of Copenhagen and the Director of the Polytechnic High School. The society plans to raise a fund to send Danish apprentice students in technical subjects to America, connections to be made by the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

Among the numerous accounts of patriotic work that have come to us since the National Service Number went to press, one deserves special mention in the South Jutland Number. Lutheran churches centering around San Francisco, including those of northern California and some scattered congregations in neighboring states, raised more than four million dollars in the Third Liberty Loan drive. The membership of these churches is chiefly Scandinavian, the South-Jutlanders forming a strong element. The chairman of the committee was Rev. E. M. Stensrud, pastor of an English Lutheran church in San Francisco.

To Mr. Viggo Eberlin, of New York, belongs the credit of having brought Carl Neumann's song, "I Heard My Country's Call," before a wider public. The text

with the music may be ordered from him either in a small folder at ten cents or printed on post-cards ready for mailing. Mr. Eberlin's address is 305 East 208th Street.

Mr. David Edström has signed a contract for two statues, representing Isis and Nephthys, to be erected in the Masonic House of the Temple, one of the most beautiful buildings in Washington. The figures are to be cut in Swedish block granite.

Mr. Edwin Olaf Holter was chairman of the committee on organization for the great meeting held in Madison Square Garden on Bastille Day, July 14, as a tribute of admiration and sympathy for France.

The following have been elected corresponding members of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study: Professor W. A. Craigie for Scotland; Professor Halfdan Koht and Professor Gerhard Gran for Norway; Bredo Kristensen (instead of Axel Olrik, deceased) and Dr. Kr. Kaalund for Denmark.

In his review of William Morton Payne's translation of *Arlot Gelline* (Volume VIII of the SCANDINAVIAN CLASSICS published by the Foundation) which appeared in the February number of *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Professor Flom erroneously states that this edition is a reprint. Professor Payne was engaged by the Foundation to translate the volume especially for this series, and it has never before appeared in English.

Mr. F. E. H. Velander, Swedish Fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation for 1917-18, has been appointed for the coming year research assistant in the department of electrical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Mr. Velander recently received the master's degree at Harvard, with the highest standing in all courses.

The personal misfortune which attended Professor Amandus Johnson of the University of Pennsylvania on the evening of June 25 was also a public loss. In the fire that destroyed his cottage the manuscript of the third volume of his *Swedish Settlers on the Delaware* was consumed, as well as another manuscript, the labor of years.

The faculty and students of Concordia College in Moorhead have chosen an excellent means of aiding the library of their institution—so often a weak point in small colleges—by pledging \$1,800 in War Savings Stamps to be applied, when they fall due, to the purchase of books.

THE HOLY CITY JERUSALEM II

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TRADE NOTES

*News and Comment on Exports and Trade Conditions
Between America and the Scandinavian Countries*

NORWEGIAN SHIPBUILDING IN THE UNITED STATES

Critics of Scandinavian neutrality will have to admit that so far as concerns Norwegians in the United States those occupied with shipbuilding are giving their entire effort to aiding this country in the winning of the war. This applies in particular to Christoffer Hannevig, Inc., owners of the Pusey & Jones shipyards at Gloucester, N. J., and Wilmington, Del. The largest ship launched on the Fourth of July was a Hannevig product, the *Indianapolis*, which stands as a direct evidence of the manner in which the Norwegians are pushing the ship-building program of the United States.

SCANDINAVIANS IN SOUTH AMERICA

The Norwegian Commodore Oil Fields, Ltd., is the latest Scandinavian concern to enter South America on a large scale. Argentina is now proving itself a valuable oil country, and among those interested in the Norwegian enterprise are Eilert Sundt, Consul General Rudolf Olsen, and Ole Thoresen, of Christiania, and Engineer Albert Schwartz, of Buenos Aires.

SWEDEN PREPARES FOR AFTER-WAR TRADE

A new central committee for Swedish export after the war has been formed to work in conjunction with the existing organizations, the Swedish General Export Union and the Swedish Chamber of Manufacturers. The object of the new committee is to take care of the Swedish export interests in a more complete way than is possible through any existing industrial corporation. The central committee is composed of twenty-two

members, with Prof. Nils Wohlin secretary. Almost all the industries and trades in Sweden are represented in the new organization.

VALUABLE REPORT BY CONSUL BÖGGILD

The Copenhagen newspapers are quoting freely from the report of Consul J. E. Böggild at New York on America's war preparations and the manner in which the various interests here are coöperating to bring about victory. Consul Böggild has the faculty of presenting facts and figures in a way to make his report extremely readable, while his long familiarity with American institutions naturally gives weight to his opinions at home.

NORWAY HAS CABLE FACTORY

American Vice-Consul Carlsson at Christiania informs the State Department that the plant of the first Norwegian cable company has just been completed. The home manufacture of all kinds of wire and cable should somewhat overcome the difficulties of importations and will be of great importance in a country where electrical energy is to play an ever-increasing part, owing to the development of the water power.

"EVENING POST" FOREIGN SUPPLEMENT

The third quarterly issue of the New York *Evening Post's* foreign trade supplement contained several interesting articles on Scandinavian trade, now and later. Norway and Sweden are making steady progress in adjusting themselves to the situation created by the War, and with the gradual lifting of the embargo there is every possibility that trade relations with America will return to a condition more nearly normal than is now the case.

H. S. JOHANNSEN

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SCANDINAVIAN BUSINESS MEN IN THE VAN

It was remarked during the great Fourth of July loyalty demonstration that the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish divisions made a most unique appearance with their various floats representative of episodes in the development of the nationalities here. Scandinavian-American business men contributed liberally for the purpose.

AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

The complete returns of the country's agricultural exports, as issued by the Department of Commerce for February, shows total shipments to have amounted to \$180,271,457, as against \$186,502,274 in January and \$120,416,541 in February of last year. J. M.

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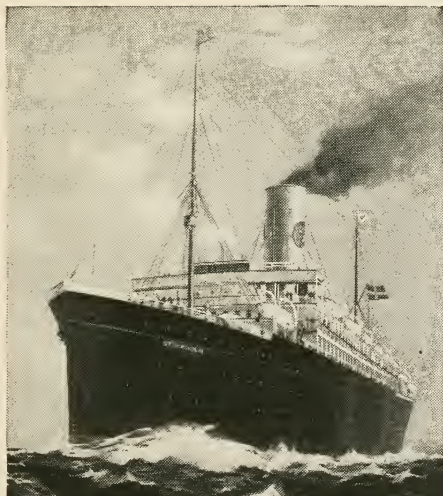
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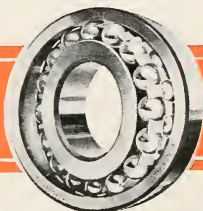
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